

New-York Daily Tribune

THURSDAY, AUGUST 4, 1864.

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The Tribune.

All the materials used in the publication of a newspaper have largely advanced in price within the last few months. The white paper on which we print THE DAILY TRIBUNE costs more than we receive from the sale of the printed sheet, and every additional demand for the paper is so much added to the cost. We are therefore compelled to advance the price of this paper, which from and after Thursday, July 21, will be for a single copy, 4 CENTS, or, where delivered in the city by carrier, 24 CENTS A WEEK. The mail subscribers to the Daily will be charged \$10 per Annum. By reference to our "Terms," it will be noticed that we make no advance on the regular subscription price of the Semi-Weekly and Weekly; but for the present we must suspend all club rates, and adhere strictly to our regular yearly subscription prices. An extra copy of the paper will be sent to parties procuring subscribers and making remittances, as heretofore. Remittances made before this notice reaches the parties, will be credited and the orders executed at our old rates.

TERMS.

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To Correspondents.

No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. Notices are intended for insertion must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee for their receipt. All business letters for this office should be addressed to "The Tribune," New York.

NEWS OF THE DAY.

THE WAR.

C. C. Edelin, alias Sam Cooper, formerly a well-known character of Washington, and before the war a prominent member of the Jackson Democratic Association, who went South at the breaking out of the war, and got a captain's commission in the Rebel army, presented himself to our pickets on Tuesday, up the Potomac River, and desired to have the oath of allegiance administered to him. He was brought to the Old Capitol Prison. It is not known what disposition will be made of him.

It is generally understood at Washington that the force which Early has in the Valley is quite large, numbering at least 35,000 men. He is now engaged in threatening Washington. Military movements not proper to publish are in progress, which will compel him to change his position speedily.

W. H. Carter, a citizen of Maryland, is to be hung in the Old Capitol yard on Friday. He was convicted of having entered into a contract with the Rebel Government to supply them with bacon, percussion caps, &c., at several points on the Rappahannock.

The Board of Aldermen of this county yesterday passed an ordinance appropriating \$500,000 for the relief of soldiers' families.

Twenty-two Rebel officers, captured in Saturday's fight, have also arrived at Washington, and been committed to the Old Capitol.

The 17th Vermont Volunteers, which joined the army on the 1st of May with full ranks, has now but 50 men fit for duty.

NEWS FROM EUROPE.

By the arrival of the steamship St. David, we have two days later news from Europe. The French Government has invited all the Powers of Europe to send representatives to an International Congress for the regulation of telegraphic communication.

The Danish blockade of the German ports has been raised.

Louis Napoleon is to have an interview with the King of Prussia. The King of Belgium has arrived in Paris. The object of this visit is said to be to negotiate a marriage between the Count of Flanders, the second son of the King, and Princess Anna Murat.

GENERAL NEWS.

Advices from the Plains state that the Apaches, Kiowas, Comanches and Arapahoes, numbering nearly one thousand warriors, were committing serious depredations on the Santa Fé road. All horses, mules, beef cattle belonging to Fort Larned, a number of private cattle, and 130 horses of the Colorado Battery, were captured within a quarter of a mile of that post on the 17th ult. Emigrant trains have been robbed and destroyed, and about 600 animals have been run off. About twenty persons have been killed and scalped. The Indians were threatening Fort Larned at last accounts. There were only 70 men there. Over 500,000 dollars' worth of provisions had been sent out to these Indians at Fort Larned a few days before.

The weekly statement of the public debt has been issued. It shows the aggregate of debt bearing interest in coin to be \$884,127,792; aggregate interest, \$53,134,865. The aggregate debt bearing interest in lawful money is \$411,413,182; aggregate interest, \$23,883,170. The aggregate of debt not bearing interest is \$367,170; aggregate of debt not bearing interest, \$331,364,027. The recapitulation shows the total amount outstanding to be \$1,627,492,179; interest, \$76,418,035.

By the arrival of the Roanoke we have dates from Havana to July 23, and from Vera Cruz to July 24. Maximilian has extended an amnesty and pardon to all political prisoners; but those who have killed a French soldier or burned a place occupied by the French are excluded from the amnesty. A conspiracy against the French has been discovered at Tepic. The French forces were about to enter Durango. The forces of the National Government which were at Saltillo had marched from there to Monterrey, where Juarez had been joined by Negroes with over 600 men. The French military law has been introduced by Maximilian until further notice. The forces of Cortina at Matamoros have been joined by many Union and Rebel deserters, who are paid \$1 per diem in Mexican gold.

Dr. J. W. Page, M. D., United States Sanitary Commission, having kindly consented to assume the arduous duties of Superintendent of white refugees and overseer of the white poor of the District of North Carolina, he has been appointed as such by Gen. Palmer.

Mrs. Jane Manning, who was admitted to Bellevue Hospital on Tuesday, suffering from severe injuries received by being beaten and thrown down stairs by her husband, Lackey Manning, died yesterday morning. The jury in the case rendered a verdict against Manning, and he was locked up.

It is stated that the murderer of Mr. Briggs, the man killed in a first-class railway car near London lately, proves to be a Mr. Franz Muller, who left in a sailing vessel for New York four days before the crime had been traced to him.

The amount of subscriptions to the seventy-third loan reported at the Treasury Department yesterday, was \$1,020,000.

To-day having been set apart as a day of fasting and prayer, the Courts will not be in session.

Gold has been quite steady, opening at 256, and closing at 257 (957). Stocks have been irregular, but show firm and in demand. Government securities are among the

TO THE SINCERE FRIENDS OF PEACE.

There are thousands now brawling for Peace whose chief concern is for the salvation of Slavery and the triumph of its champions in the approaching Presidential contest. They want no Peace which shall lay the Rebellion and its cause prostrate at the feet of the Republic and its constituted authorities. With these, we have no affinity; with them, we do not take counsel. But there are very many others who desire Peace for its own sake—who are heart-sick of the waste and carnage of War, and who are disposed to welcome the return of Peace on almost any terms. These are told—without a shadow of authority—that the Emancipation policy is the only obstacle to a realization of their chief desire—that, if that were given up, the Rebels would at once lay down their arms and return to loyalty and the Union. These representations are swaying some minds and affecting many. To all this influenced, we would submit the following facts:

I. Throughout the South, it was understood and agreed, prior to the outbreak of the Rebellion, that Slavery deliberately stated its own existence on the struggle it was provoking. We doubt whether an anti-secession speech was made in any Slave State between 1850 and 1861 which did not affirm or imply that the defeat of the meditated Rebellion must involve the downfall of Slavery. This was the key of the Union position—the chief argument against Secession. Nor do we believe it was seriously controverted. It was abundantly argued that the North would not fight—that Disunion would be peaceably consummated—that Slavery, in the Confederacy, would be stronger and safer than in the Union—but rarely or never that Slavery could fail in a determined effort to divide the country, yet retain its vitality and power. Such playing for high stakes and pocketing them when you have lost, is not the rule, even at the South.

II. Emancipation is Peace. If, by some visible act of God, the shackles should fall tomorrow from the limbs of every slave, the Rebellion would thenceforth be dead, and Disunion an impossibility. Our armies might be defeated—may, they might be withdrawn—yet the Union would promptly reconstitute itself and be stronger and firmer than ever, by virtue of an irresistible law of political gravitation. All the devices of the infernal regions could not keep our people at war or at variance six months longer if Slavery were but dead.

III. On the other hand, Slavery is Disunion. Others may see how to make a loyal State out of slaveholding South Carolina; we do not and cannot. How are you to conciliate and reconstitute her as a State of our Union unless on the basis of a virtual admission that your War for that Union has been utterly wrong? Unless you mean simply to put the loyal States into the Confederacy by engraving on our system all of its antagonist that is peculiar and essential, how are you to make South Carolina a loyal slaveholding State? Will the election of McClellan or Nelson as President satisfy her? She might have had this in 1860; yet she deliberately determined that she would not. She broke up and defeated the Democratic party expressly to be rid forever of the doughface rule which had so nauseated her. She did not doubt that she might have prolonged it; but that was just what she did not want. You may lead her to that nasty water again; but how will you make her drink? Unless your Union shall be substantially and practically the Confederacy of her choice, how are you to reconcile her to it? Just try to make a hen set when she does not want to, before you undertake to put slaveholding South Carolina back into the Union as our fathers made it.

IV. Abolish Slavery, and all is transformed. The handful of aristocrats who have hitherto been South Carolina are South Carolina no longer. New interests, new hopes, new forces, at once come into play. As Canning said that, in freeing Spanish America, he had "called into existence a new world to redress the balance of the Old," so you have, by that act, called a new South Carolina into being. A majority of her human inhabitants are and long have been slaves—"dumb, driven cattle," devoid of power and of hope. Every one of these is a Unionist by inexorable necessity, provided the Union makes him free. Then the poor whites, hitherto living by suzerainty on the outskirts of great men's plantations, uneducated, indolent, ragged, shiftless, miserable, because Labor was degraded by Slavery, cease at once to be serfs and become People. Education, Industry, Hope, Ambition, will so transform them that, ere three years shall have elapsed, they will bless the Union—against which they mistakenly fought—as the author of their new and higher life. But, while Slavery lasts, they will be the mere satellites and echoes of the slaveholders.

V. Already amid the convulsions and terrors of Civil War, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, are attracting Industry, Capital, Intelligence, Enterprise, from abroad, upon the strength of the prospect that they are soon to be free. Their soil is worth more, even though supposed in some danger of being the border land of two hostile empires, than when it was the heart of a great and peaceful republic. Slavery is not out of yet, yet Free Labor is preparing to rush in. Give us Universal Freedom, and the entire South will speedily double its population and quadruple the value of its soil, while immensely increasing its Annual Product. No man can adequately portray the blessings that would pour in upon our country if her Labor were wholly and securely free.

Emancipation, then, is not confiscation; it is not vengeance; it is not desolation, but renovation to the South; it is what, above all things else, she needs and will profit by. Even Jeff. Davis is reported to have said, in reply to European appeals for Emancipation, that he considers the utility of Slavery to the South a thing of the past. To unsettle long existing social relations always produces temporary evils and inconveniences; but the Rebellion has already done that. The question is now of re-settling; and for this there can be no other basis so solid and beneficent as that of Freedom for All.

—We are not insisting that there can be no

Peace on any other basis. We would not be held as objecting to Peace on any terms that may be generally acceptable. We are only urging that the best possible peace for all sections, for all deserving interests, the truest and the firmest Peace, is one based on Universal Freedom.

MISSOURI.

The patriotism of the Union men of Missouri is again subjected to a severe test. A guerrilla war, more ferocious than any that has preceded it, has broken out over the whole State, and imperiled the property and the lives of the uncompromising Unionists and anti-Slavery men. Indeed, it may be safely asserted that, during the past few weeks, it has in no other State of the Union been more dangerous to be pointed out as an unconditional Union man than in Missouri. Maryland and Pennsylvania have again been exposed to Rebel raids, and suffered an enormous loss of property; still, the war has been confined to a few districts; and even in these we have hardly heard of any cases of murder of Union men. The condition of Kentucky is much like that of Missouri, but the greater number of troops in that State has saved at least a large number of counties from the insecurity which for weeks has reigned throughout the whole of Missouri.

It is easy to trace the causes of this unfortunate condition of affairs in that State. Missouri has not only, in common with all other States of the Union, lacked an efficient militia system, but it has had under its "conservative" Governors—Gamble and Hall—a militia which has played directly into the hands of the guerrillas, and without the aid of which the insubordination of the last few weeks would never have assumed so destructive a character. We do not mean to charge these two Conservative Governors with having been consciously disloyal. Both, undoubtedly, meant to adhere to the Government of the United States; but, in common with all the "Conservative," and "Democratic" Governors of other States, they committed the fatal blunder of hating the anti-Slavery Unionists more than Rebels and Secessionists, and of preferring a compromise with the latter to an honest cooperation with the former. Nowhere has this policy borne more pernicious fruit than in Missouri. The "Conservative" militia organized by the Provisional Government, not only proved entirely inefficient for the suppression of the guerrillas, but in several places many of its members joined the armed Rebel bands and guided them in their attacks upon the lives and property of radical Unionists. No apologist will ever be able to purge the Provisional Government of Missouri from the charge of having kept many of the ablest and most energetic Unionists of the State out of the ranks of the militia, solely because they were Radicals, and of having, on the other hand, retained in the public service men who never used their power for any other purpose than to annoy and persecute the loyal people.

The atrocities committed by the guerrillas and the disturbed condition of the whole State have opened the eyes of many to the true character of the "conservative policy" pursued by Governors Gamble and Hall. More trustworthy men have since been placed at the head of the troops, and it may reasonably be expected that, if Gen. Rosecrans gets the nine new regiments of State militia for which he has issued a call, he will be able to suppress Secessionism and treason.

It is, however, evident that the thorough pacification of Missouri, and the security of the Unconditional Unionists, will largely depend on the issue of the approaching State election. There will be only two tickets in the field that have any chance of success—that of the combined "Conservative" and that of the "Radical Unionists." The former to be successful must poll the votes of all the Secession sympathizers, Pro-Slavery Democrats, and Conservatives. The majority of this party shows to the Anti-Slavery policy of the Government and to the Radical Unionists of the State a much greater hostility than the present Provisional Government. It is, therefore, fair to expect that, if the approaching election should result in favor of the Conservatives, new obstacles will arise to the eradication of treason and Slavery, and severer persecution will await the Radical Unionists. The success of the Conservative ticket would be a terrible blow to the cause of freedom, and to the prosperity and prospects of the State of Missouri.

On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that, if the State Government of Missouri, in all its branches, should earnestly cooperate with the military commander and the other officers of the Federal Government, guerrilla warfare and persecution and murder of Unionists would soon be as completely suppressed in Missouri as in Maryland and Delaware. The approaching election is, therefore, of the utmost importance. A glance at the result of the last election shows that the Radical party can expect a victory only if they bring out their whole strength and prevent all bolting. A year ago, the parties were about equal in strength. The Conservatives carried the State, because they managed to have a portion of the soldiers' vote thrown out. Since then, it is fair to presume that the progress of the war has made many new converts to the Radical Union party, and it is almost certain that, if this party is not divided, and is not again cheated out of the soldiers' votes, it will carry the State.

Unfortunately, there is a very serious split among the Radical Unionists with regard to the Presidential election. At the last State Convention of the party, a large majority declared themselves in favor of sending delegates to the Baltimore Convention, and it was understood that this involved an intention to vote for the nominee of the Baltimore Convention. The large majority of the Radical-Union organs of the State have declared in favor of Mr. Lincoln; and it is fair to presume that they represent a majority of the Republican voters of the State. At the same time, it is indubitable that the Fremont party is very strong and well organized. It seems to control the Radical-Union organization in St. Louis; and the candidate of the party for Governor, Col. Fletcher, is

claimed, without contradiction, as a Fremont man. If this division cannot be healed before November, there is, of course, no possibility of the State going either for Lincoln or Fremont. As regards the candidates for the State offices, there is as yet no positive branch. Both sections adhere to the principles which their last State Convention unanimously adopted. The Lincoln section have declared their readiness to vote the entire State ticket, no matter whether the candidates may be Lincoln or Fremont men. Among the other section, there is a difference of opinion, how to act with regard to such of the candidates as may declare for Lincoln. The leading German paper of the State, the *Westliche Post*, persists in its determination to strike from the ticket every man who may profess a preference for Lincoln; but a large number of the most influential Germans have declared their dissent from this policy, and urge upon all members of the party the importance of avoiding a split, and of electing none but Radical Unionists.

The history of the past few weeks ought to teach the radical Unionists of Missouri how much is at stake at the ensuing election. If they fail to elect their State ticket, it may cost thousands of both the sections into which the party is now divided, not only their property, but their lives.

THIRTY YEARS.

Mr. James Morse, a gentleman well known in literary circles, who died in our City some weeks since, aged 54, stood beside Elijah P. Lovejoy when (in 1835) he was murdered at Alton, Ill., while defending the *third* press which he had purchased and brought to that city whereon to print a religious paper which should be open to the discussion of Slavery along with other moral evils. Mr. Morse, a native of Newburyport, Mass., had then been several years in the West, living mainly at St. Louis, where he was engaged in mercantile pursuits. He afterward lived several years in Washington and removed thence to this City, where he acted as correspondent for several leading journals, and where he witnessed and aided in resisting the shameful and formidable pro-Slavery riots of last year. Having received the martyred Lovejoy in his arms, when he fell pierced by the bullets of his murderers, he noted the operations of the same spirit in this emporium, where hundreds joined in the chase of one poor frightened boy, suspected of no crime but the color which God had seen fit to give him. Mr. Morse, therefore, though dying in the mature prime of life, may be said to have borne a part in the events which marked the beginning and almost the close of one of the greatest moral revolutions which any age or country has experienced.

A PEOPLE'S LOAN.

It seems to us essential to the speediest success of Mr. Fessenden's proposal for a loan of \$200,000,000, that pains should be taken to make it, in all proper ways, a People's loan. We believe that the relations between People and Government ought to be close, intimate, and confidential, and that the more directly the two are brought in contact, the more effectual will be the support given by one to the other. Especially ought it to be so in this crisis, in a war which, more than ever before in the history of the world, is the People's war, carried on not for territorial conquest nor in aid of dynastic ambition, but to preserve those rights which our fathers declared to be inalienable, by preserving the form of government bequeathed from them as the best bulwark of those rights. And there is no way in which the People can at this crisis so effectually manifest their resolve to crush the Rebellion as by lending to the Government the money needful for carrying on the war. To which end we believe it desirable that the opportunities of subscription to the new loan should be as numerous and as widely disseminated as possible.

It has been suggested that Postmasters should be constituted agents to receive subscriptions for the 73rd Treasury notes, and the plan seems to us practical and feasible. We believe there is no village so small as not to contain at least one person who could thus be induced to lend the Government money which he would otherwise hoard, or invest less to his own interest and that of the country. Throughout the States, and especially in their less populous sections, there is great lack of information among the people, both as to the financial necessities of the Government and as to the advantages which its loans offer for investment. The class of people whom we want to reach are not the customers of banks, and will not be approached through the ordinary channels of financial supply. They are the farmers in far inland towns, the artisans, the laborers, the small shopkeepers, all of whom, because of the high price of labor and of crops, are in possession of more money than usual. The tendency with them is to hoard it, simply for want of knowing how to use it, whom to trust with it, and how it can safely be made to yield them interest. They are the people whom only local agents could get access to, and probably the Postmasters would be, on the whole, the fittest persons, being already in posts of trust and responsibility, and having the easiest means of regular communication with another branch of the Government. They are known to the people, and are the centers of resort to such an extent that they can reach greater numbers of people than any other class of agents or officers. Why should they not be employed to urge upon loyal citizens the advantage and necessity of Government loans?

We are of those who reckon it in this emergency a patriotic duty—the duty of each American citizen as a citizen—to lend to the Government all the money which he has to invest in any kind of security, be it \$50, or \$100, or \$1,000,000. We believe also that on the whole there is no form in which money can now be put at interest which will finally yield so large a return as the stocks, bonds, Treasury notes, and other securities of the Government. Yet we reject utterly the opinion set forth in Copperhead-mercantile journals that all considerations of patriotic duty are to be put aside in matters of finance—that patriotism where

money is concerned is "in bad taste." The loyal people of this country are not of that opinion. They believe in sustaining the Government with money as well as men, and it is our conviction that they need only the opportunity and information which might be supplied in the way we suggest, to prove their faith by works and to pour into national coffers subscriptions generous enough to put Wall street to the blush. If Mr. Fessenden will cause his wishes to be made known throughout this land, if he will go straight to the people and tell them the needs of the Treasury, and why he wants money and how much he will give for it—in a word, if he will cause his proposal recently published to be brought home to men's business and bosoms everywhere, we have not a doubt that the response of the people will be adequate to his necessities.

LOUISIANA—THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

The Constitutional Convention of Louisiana closed its labors on the 25th of July. Though the work it had to perform was of much greater importance than that of the previous Conventions of Louisiana, in 1845 and 1852, its session was shorter than either of them, lasting, in all, 111 days. The new Constitution adopted by this Convention will be submitted to the people for their ratification or rejection on the first Monday of September.

The papers of New-Orleans publish the complete text of the new Constitution in English and French. It contains, under 14 titles, 153 articles, some of which are of more than local interest. The first title, embracing two articles, treats of emancipation, and transfers Louisiana from the Slave States to the Free States. The two articles are as follows:

ARTICLE I. Slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whose term shall have been duly provided, are hereby forever abolished and prohibited throughout the State.

ART. 2. The Legislature shall make no law recognizing the right of property in man.

We regret that the principle of uncompensated Emancipation was not embodied in the new Constitution; yet this omission is of slight importance in comparison with the great fact that Slavery is declared extinct. And the fact is the more significant because the majority of the Convention contained some of the largest slaveholders of the United States, showing that it is not, as the Copperheads persistently maintain, the Northern officeholders only who favor the new Constitution.

The right of suffrage is restricted to white male persons who have attained the age of twenty-one years. This restriction shows that the legislators of Louisiana have not yet learned that in a democratic State all men ought to enjoy equal rights before the law. Still, not to be too severe in our judgment on Louisiana, we must remember that most of the Northern States have set the example of denying the rights of citizenship to the negroes. It is creditable to the Louisiana Convention that their willingness to recognize at least a portion of the negroes as citizens is indicated by the following article:

ART. 15. The Legislature shall have power to pass laws conferring suffrage to such other persons, citizens of the United States, as by military service, by taxation to support the government, or by intellectual fitness, may be deemed qualified therefor.

It is a serious defect of the Constitution, that it omits an explicit provision excluding from the right of suffrage all who have taken an active part in the Rebellion. To supply this defect, a resolution was adopted on the 25th of July providing that every voter must take the "iron-clad"—that is, the oath required of the members of the Convention, that they had never taken an active part in armed rebellion against the Government of the United States. This resolution may to some extent neutralize the constitutional defect, though it is very far from being an equivalent.

Articles 36 and 46 declare the ineligibility of clergymen to the General Assembly and to the offices of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor—provisions which are not in accordance with the spirit of our age. The same must be said of article 116, which gives to the Legislature the power to license the selling of lottery tickets and the keeping of gambling houses. The new Constitution properly provides that the courts of justice shall be open to all, regardless of color, and for the education of all classes by taxation on the property of the State.

On the whole, while the Constitution lacks some important provisions, it is so great an improvement over the former constitutions of the Slave State of Louisiana, that we hope for its ratification by a large majority of the voters of the State.

The Convention fittingly concluded its work by declaring in favor of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing for the abolition of Slavery throughout the Union.

TO PHILADELPHIA.

The City of Brooklyn has not hitherto enjoyed advantages over our own in the matter of travel and transportation; but all things change. We observe by our advertising columns that the steamboat Jesse Hoyt now leaves the foot of Atlantic-street, Brooklyn, every secular day at 11 A. M., conveying passengers to Port Monmouth, N. J., who are promptly conveyed by railroad to the Vine-st. wharf, Philadelphia, for \$2, or \$3 for the round passage. (The monopoly charge is \$3 each way.) The advertisement adds:

"Travelers from the City of New-York are notified not to apply for passage by this line, the State of New-Jersey having granted to the Camden and Amboy R.R. the exclusive privilege of carrying passengers and freight between the cities of New-York and Philadelphia."

—As we live out of the City, (whenever we can,) we propose to take the cheap line the next time we visit Philadelphia, as the State of New-Jersey seems not to have forbidden it. And we trust Congress, at its next session, will perfect the act which has already passed the House, authorizing all persons to travel by the cheapest and most acceptable route they can find, regardless of whatever exclusive privilege the legislators of any State may be bribed to grant to a wealthy monopoly. If any one who does not personally profit by such monopoly does not concur with us on this point, we should like to hear his reasons for dissenting.